

RGRG

*Thieu  
Speech  
(continued)*

ZCZC WHP243

O 120944Z

FM THE SITUATION ROOM TOHAK 154  
TO WINSTON LORD FOR DR. KISSINGER  
ZEM  
FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

TOHAK 154

IMMEDIATE DELIVERY

FBIS 08

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

FOURTH ADD 2 (THIEU SPEECH TEXT)

XXX TO HAVE SIGNED.

(TEXT) AFTER FORCING US TO SIGN THIS AGREEMENT AND AFTER  
ACHIEVING THE SO-CALLED EXPULSION OF AMERICANS FROM VIETNAM  
IN ALL FORMS, THE ANNEXATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM THROUGH MILITARY  
AND POLITICAL MEANS WILL BE ONLY A QUESTION OF TIME FOR THE  
COMMUNISTS WITH THEIR 300,000 NORTHERN TROOPS REMAINING IN THE  
SOUTH, WITH THE SO-CALLED THREE-SEGMENT NATIONAL CONCORD  
GOVERNMENT, A CAMOUFLAGED COALITION GOVERNMENT, AND WITH A NORTH  
VIETNAM LIVING IN SAFETY AND ACCEPTING FREELY THE COMMUNIST  
IMPERIALISTS' MILITARY AID.

BY THE COMMUNISTS, WE MUST SEE THE POSITION IN WHICH THE COMMUNISTS WANT TO PLACE US AND OUR ALLY AND WHAT THEY WANT US TO DO. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE PLACED THEMSELVES IN THE POSITION OF A BOSS WHO CAN TALK WITH THE UNITED STATES AND FORCE THE LATTER TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT WHILE THE RVN IS ONLY A PUPPET, BOUND TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT. THEY HOLD THE UNITED STATES FULLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE AGGRESSION, IN THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL FIELDS, AND FOR ALL CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM THIS AGGRESSION.

AS FOR THE COMMUNISTS, THEY SEEK TO ELUDE, OR REFUSE TO ACCEPT THIS IMPORTANT BASIS (CAVN BANR QUAN YEEUS): SOUTH VIETNAM AND NORTH VIETNAM ARE TWO SEPARATE ZONES WHICH MUST BE TEMPORARILY CONSIDERED AS TWO SEPARATE STATES AMONG THE FOUR INDOCHINESE STATES. INSTEAD, THEY CONSIDER THAT VIETNAM, FROM NAM QUAN TO CA MAU, IS ONE AND BELONGS TO THE HANOI ADMINISTRATION. THIS IS A PRETEXT THEY HAVE USED TO PLEAD THAT THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO SEND THE NORTHERN TROOPS TO FIGHT THE AMERICANS IN THE SOUTH AND, OF COURSE, HAVE THE RIGHT TO LEAVE TROOPS IN THIS COUNTRY.

MOREOVER, THE COMMUNISTS CONSIDER THAT THERE ARE NOW TWO LEGAL ADMINISTRATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM, ARGUING THAT BECAUSE SOUTH VIETNAM HAS TWO ADMINISTRATIONS THERE CAN BE AN APPROPRIATE SOLUTION IF THERE IS A THIRD ADMINISTRATION TO SUPERVISE THESE TWO ADMINISTRATIONS, OR IF THERE IS A COALITION ADMINISTRATION WITH THESE TWO ADMINISTRATIONS PARTICIPATING.

FINALLY, LET US LOOK AT THE COMMUNISTS' DEMANDS. THEY DEMAND THAT THE UNITED STATES STOP THE BOMBING AND MINING IN NORTH VIETNAM AND ALL OTHER MILITARY ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT INDOCHINA; THAT THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES WITHDRAW ALL THEIR TROOPS FROM VIETNAM AND INDOCHINA; THAT THE UNITED STATES GIVE UP ITS

PROPAGANDA WILL SURELY CONSIDER AS WAR REPARATIONS; AND THAT THE RVN ACCEPT THE PRESENCE OF ALL AGGRESSIVE NORTHERN TROOPS REMAINING IN THE SOUTH, A CAMOUFLAGED COALITION ADMINISTRATION WHICH THEY WOULD IMPOSE ON THE SOUTH, AND THE GENERAL ELECTIONS TO ABOLISH SOUTH VIETNAM'S CONSTITUTION AND CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS.

IN SHORT, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE LISTED IN THEIR DRAFT AGREEMENT ALL THE DEMANDS THAT THEY HAVE LONG CLAIMED TO BE INDISPENSABLE. THAT IS ALSO THE REASON WHY THEY HAVE ADOPTED A STUBBORN ATTITUDE AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AND ALL THAT I HAVE JUST MENTIONED IS IN EXCHANGE MERELY FOR THE RETURN OF U.S. POW'S AND A PRO-FORMA CEASE-FIRE, WITHOUT ANY SAFE GUARANTEE. ✓✓

ON THIS DAY, OUR PEOPLE, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT MUST ALSO REMIND THE PEOPLE IN OUR ALLIED COUNTRIES AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD OF WHAT THE SOUTH WANTS AND NEEDS MERELY TO RESTORE PEACE IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. WE HAVE BEEN THE VICTIMS OF THE AGGRESSION WHICH COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAM HAS WAGED SINCE IT SIGNED THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT, STEALTHILY DURING THE FIRST FEW YEARS AND OPENLY AND BRAZENLY FOR THE PAST 14 YEARS. NOW WE NEED ONLY PEACE AND DEMAND ONLY PEACE. THE SIMPLEST WAY TO ACHIEVE PEACE IS TO MAKE NORTH VIETNAM END ITS WAR OF AGGRESSION IN THE SOUTH. WE DO NOT DEMAND THAT THE WAR END WITH A VICTORY AND A VANQUISHED, BUT ONLY IN JUSTICE AND WITH MINIMUM RIGHTEOUSNESS, THAT IS, THAT THE INVADED MUST CEASE TO BE INVADED AND THAT THE AGGRESSOR MUST GO HOME.

(MORE)

12 DEC 0903Z WJ/RG

FBIS 09

FIFTH ADD 02 (THIEU SPEECH TEXT)



(TEXT) WE DO NOT DEMAND THAT NORTH VIETNAM GIVE US ANYTHING OR YIELD ANY OF THEIR RIGHTS IN THE NORTH. WE ONLY DESIRE THAT THE SOUTH BELONG TO THE SOUTHERNERS AND THAT THE INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORY AND FREEDOM OF THE SOUTH BE RESPECTED BY NORTH VIETNAM. WE WANT THAT THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH TO BE TEMPORARILY TWO DIFFERENT COUNTRIES WITH THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND WAY OF LIFE. WE ADVOCATE THAT THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH LIVE IN PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, HAVE PEACEFUL RELATIONS, DO NOT ENCROACH ON EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY, AND DO NOT INTERFERE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL SITUATION OR HARASS EACH OTHER MILITARILY OR POLITICALLY.

THEREFORE THE MAIN PRINCIPLE WHOSE IMPLEMENTATION WE ARE DEMANDING IN A PEACE SOLUTION--IF WE WANT THIS PEACE TO BE HOPEFULLY GUARANTEED FOR A LONG TIME--IS THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS MUST WITHDRAW COMPLETELY TO THE NORTH. A POLITICAL SOLUTION REGARDING THE SOUTHERN INTERNAL AFFAIRS MUST BE DECIDED BY THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE AND THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE ONLY.

SO FAR, THE WORLD'S PEOPLE HAVE HELD THAT IF WE WANT TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND LOGICAL SOLUTION TO THE VIETNAM ISSUE, THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BE RESPECTED; THAT IS, THERE WILL BE NO INTERFERENCE AND PRESSURE FROM ANYONE, UNDER WHATEVER FORM, FROM THE OUTSIDE, AND THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE MUST BE ALLOWED TO USE THEIR POLITICAL RIGHTS IN A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC MANNER AND WITHOUT BEING TERRORIZED OR THREATENED WITH REPRISALS. THE COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES HAVE SAID SO, TOO, ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT ADVOCATE SO. IS IT POSSIBLE THEN THAT THE 17.5 MILLION SOUTHERNEPS--INCLUDING THOSE BELONGING TO THE NFLSV--CAN USE

**THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IN A SAFE, FREE AND**  
No Objection to Declassification in Full 2010/08/06 : LOC-HAK-248-1-17-7  
**DEMOCRATIC MANNER AND WITHOUT PRESSURE AND WITHOUT THREAT OF**  
**REPRISAL, WHEN IN THE SOUTH THERE STILL EXISTS A HUGE ARMY**  
**OF 300,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS WITH MANY ARMORED AND**  
**ARTILLERY DIVISIONS, AND WHEN GRENADES AND BAYONETS ARE**  
**THREATENING THEM FROM ALL SIDES, FROM BEHIND, AND AT**  
**THEIR NECKS?**

**THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES UNDERSTAND THAT,**  
**AND FEAR THAT ONCE THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS ARE NO**  
**LONGER IN THE SOUTH TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE NATIONAL**  
**LIBERATION FRONT'S MEN, THE LATTER WILL DECIDE THEMSELVES**  
**TO CHOOSE A PATH AND A REASONABLE AND LOGICAL NATIONAL**  
**RECONCILIATION AND NATIONAL CONCORD SOLUTION IN THE SOUTHERN**  
**COMMUNITY. IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD THAT WHEN THE NORTH**  
**VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS DEMAND THAT THEIR TROOPS BE ALLOWED**  
**TO REMAIN IN THE SOUTH, THEY ARE AFRAID THAT THEIR MILITARY**  
**AND POLITICAL TOOL IN THE SOUTH WILL DISINTEGRATE, AND THEN**  
**THEY WILL NO LONGER HAVE A FAVORABLE MEDIUM FOR DECEIVING**  
**WORLD OPINION AND CONQUERING THE SOUTH. THEREFORE, WE CAN**  
**SAY THAT SO LONG AS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS REMAIN IN**  
**THE SOUTH, THE SOUTHERNERS BY THEMSELVES WILL NOT BE ABLE**  
**TO ACHIEVE A RAPID, POLITICAL SOLUTION REGARDING SOUTHERN**  
**INTERNAL AFFAIRS BECAUSE THE NFLSV ITSELF IS NOT FREE TO**  
**DECIDE ON THE LINE TO FOLLOW OR TO ACHIEVE ITS POLITICAL**  
**OBJECTIVE, BUT INSTEAD MUST CONTINUE TO SERVE AS A TOOL FOR**  
**ACHIEVING THE POLITICAL OBJECTIVE OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE**

**COMMUNIST** No Objection to Declassification in Full 2010/08/06 : LOC-HAK-248-1-17-7